

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 EB-07 SSO-00 IO-10 CCO-00 /045 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/WE:MJHABIB/WHMARSH:CBP

APPROVED BY S/S- REWOODS

EUR - MR. HARTMAN

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TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

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STADIS////////////////////////////////////

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: PARIS

FOR S/S ONLY

1. SETTING:

YOUR VISIT TO PARIS OCCURS IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF INCREASING-
LY CORDIAL US-FRENCH RELATIONS, ATTRIBUTABLE LARGELY TO
MARTINIQUE AND AN ABSENCE OF ANTI-US RHETORIC FROM FRENCH
LEADERS. RUSH BELIEVES THAT THIS WARMER CLIMATE, TOGETHER
WITH GISCARD'S PRAGMATISM AND HIS ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF WES-
TERN INTERDEPENDENCE IN CONFRONTING ENERGY AND ECONOMIC
PROBLEMS, COULD MAKE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH FRANCE MORE
FRUITFUL NOW THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE 1958.

GISCARD HAS PRESERVED, SOMEWHAT LESS GRANDLY, THE
BASIC ORIENTATIONS OF GAULLIST FOREIGN POLICY -- MAINTE-
NANCE OF FRENCH "INDEPENDENCE", ASSERTION OF LEADERSHIP

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IN EUROPE, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A PRIVILEGED SITUATION
WITH THE ARAB STATES.

IN THEIR MEETINGS WITH YOU, GISCARD AND SAUVAGNARGUES
WILL HAVE FOUR PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS OF INTEREST: THE MID-

DLE EAST; ENERGY AND OTHER ECONOMIC QUESTIONS; CYPRUS;
AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

-- THEY WILL WELCOME YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST;

--THEY WILL ATTEMPT TO MAKE THE CASE THAT INITIAL PROGRESS IN CONSUMER SOLIDARITY IS SATISFACTORY, THUS THE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE WITH PRODUCERS CAN BE HELD IN MARCH;

-- THEY WILL WISH TO REVIEW THE STATUS OF THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS AND THE OVERALL SITUATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, PARTICULARLY IN THE WAKE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL CUT-OFF OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY;

-- THEY WILL WANT TO DISCUSS THE PRESENT STATE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY CSCE AND US-SOVIET RELATIONS.

GISCARD HAS CONSOLIDATED HIS DOMESTIC POSITION SOMEWHAT SINCE YOU LAST SAW HIM IN MARTINIQUE. DESPITE DEEPENING RECESSION AND INCREASING UNEMPLOYMENT (3.4 PERCENT), GISCARD'S STANDING IN THE PUBLIC OPINION POLLS HAS RISEN TO A FAVORABLE RATING OF OVER 50 PERCENT. MOREOVER, PRIME MINISTER CHIRAC WAS RECENTLY ELECTED SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE GAULLISTS AND SHOWS EVERY INDICATION OF KEEPING THEM ALIGNED WITH THE GOVERNMENT, THUS SECURING GISCARD'S SOLID LEGISLATIVE MAJORITY. PUBLIC SQUABBLING BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND THE SOCIALISTS -- OVER THE LATTER'S FIDELITY TO THE COMMON PROGRAM -- HAS ALSO ENHANCED GISCARD'S IMAGE. SAUVAGNARGUES MEANWHILE RETAINED HIS PORTFOLIO. DESPITE PREDICTIONS TO THE CONTRARY, HE SURVIVED A RECENT CABINET RESHUFFLE; SPECULATION THAT HE MAY SOON BE REPLACED HAS CEASED.

2. CHECKLIST:

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-- ENERGY ISSUES -- EMPHASIZE THAT WE CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN STRICT CONDITIONALITY BETWEEN CONSUMER SOLIDARITY AND A PREPARATORY CONSUMER-PRODUCER CONFERENCE. DISCUSS OUR PROPOSALS FOR CONSUMER COOPERATION AND OUR VIEWS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE.

-- MIDDLE EAST -- OUTLINE OUR VIEWS ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN LIGHT OF YOUR TRIP AND CONVERSATIONS WITH GROMYKO.

-- US-FRENCH RELATIONS -- PRESIDENT FORD AND YOU ARE PLEASED WITH THE CONSTRUCTIVE TENOR OF OUR RELATIONS SINCE MARTINIQUE.

RESPONSE BY MARCH 1 TO OUR PROPOSAL FOR A CONFERENCE OF

MAJOR NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS.

-- CYPRUS-GREECE-TURKEY -- WE OPPOSE ANY ACTIVITIES WEAKENING NATO, WANT TO AVOID INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE, AND ENCOURAGE THE PARTIES TO PROCEED WITH SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS IN THE CLERIDES-DENKTASH FRAMEWORK.

-- CSCE -- SOUND OUT FRENCH VIEWS ON THE TIMING OF STAGE III AND THEIR ASSESSMENT OF LIKELY OVERALL RESULTS AT GENEVA, ESPECIALLY IN BASKETS 1 AND 3.

-- US-USSR RELATIONS -- THE TRADE AGREEMENT DIFFICULTY WILL NOT HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THIS ISSUE WILL NEGATIVELY AFFECT OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP.

-- EC-IRAN RELATIONS -- A PREFERENTIAL TRADING ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND IRAN WOULD CONSTITUTE A VIOLATION OF THE 1973 CASEY-SOAMES AGREEMENT AND AN OBSTRUCTION TO FREER INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

-- EXCHANGE RATES -- IF RAISED, STATE THAT THE DOLLAR HAS APPARENTLY STABILIZED SINCE LATE JANUARY. WE OPPOSE FURTHER DOLLAR DEPRECIATION SINCE IT WOULD UNDERMINE OUR ANTI-INFLATION EFFORT.

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-- F-104 -- IF RAISED, STATE THAT WE CONSIDER THE F-16 WOULD PROVIDE THE TECHNOLOGICALLY MOST ADVANCED EQUIPMENT FOR NATO AIR FORCES AND BELIEVE FRANCE SHOULD NOT LOOK UPON ITS SALE AS AN EFFORT TO UNDERMINE EUROPEAN AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURING CAPABILITY.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

3. ENERGY-PRODUCER/CONSUMER CONFERENCE:

-- WE CONTINUE TO INSIST UPON SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN CONSUMER COOPERATION ON CONSERVATION, NEW SUPPLIES AND FINANCIAL SOLIDARITY BEFORE MOVING TO A PREPARATORY CONFERENCE WITH THE PRODUCERS.

-- WE ARE PLEASED THAT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE 25 BILLION DOLLAR OECD SAFETY NET AND THE IEA'S 2 MILLION BARREL/DAY CONSERVATION TARGET FOR 1975; THEY CONSTITUTE SATISFACTORY PROGRESS IN THE AREAS OF FINANCIAL SOLIDARITY AND CONSERVATION.

-- WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS ON ALTERNATIVE SOURCES CAN OCCUR AT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE IEA GOVERNING

BOARD MARCH 6-7.

-- WE FEEL THAT THE IEA MUST BE REPRESENTED AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING AND THAT DAVIGNON SHOULD REPRESENT THE IEA WITH THE RIGHT TO SPEAK.

-- WE SUPPORT THE ADDITION OF CANADA TO THE YAMANI LIST OF INVITEES.

-- WE WOULD FAVOR A ROTATING CHAIRMANSHIP AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING AS OPPOSED TO A FRENCH CHAIRMANSHIP.

-- PARTICIPATION AND PROCEDURES AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING MUST NOT PREJUDICE WHATSOEVER THE MEMBERSHIP AND PROCEDURES OF SUBSEQUENT STAGES OF THE CONSUMER/PRODUCER DIALOGUE.

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4. ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT:

-- WE ARE PLEASED WITH THE PROGRESS MADE THUS FAR IN CONSUMER COOPERATION (25 BILLION DOLLAR FACILITY AND IEA FRAMEWORK OF COOPERATION ON CONSERVATION).

-- FURTHER PROGRESS IS NEEDED TOWARD COOPERATION ON ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT BEFORE WE WILL BE READY FOR A PREPARATORY MEETING.

-- WE BELIEVE A MULTI-TIERED APPROACH (THROUGH A FLOOR PRICE OR COMMON TARIFF AND GENERAL CONSORTIA AGREEMENTS FOR R & D AND SYNTHETIC FUELS) WOULD BOTH PROVIDE MAXIMUM STIMULUS TO NEW ENERGY DEVELOPMENT AND TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE DIVERSITY IN ENERGY RESOURCE POTENTIAL AMONG CONSUMING COUNTRIES.

-- THE COMMON FLOOR PRICE OR COMMON TARIFF SHOULD BE HIGH ENOUGH TO REDUCE PRICE RISK FOR INVESTMENT IN CONVENTIONAL NUCLEAR AND FOSSIL FUELS TO COMMERCIALY ACCEPTABLE LEVELS.

-- FURTHER TECHNICAL STUDY WILL BE NEEDED BEFORE THE LEVEL OF PROTECTION IS FIXED, BUT IT WOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY LOWER THAN CURRENT WORLD OIL PRICES, ALTHOUGH SIGNIFICANTLY ABOVE PRE-EMBARGO PRICES.

-- WE SHOULD HAVE FIRM UNDERSTANDINGS ON THE BASIC ELEMENTS AND PRINCIPLES OF AN ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY BEFORE THE PREPARATORY MEETING.

-- CONSUMER AGREEMENT IN THIS AREA IS ESSENTIAL TO CREATE A BASIS ON WHICH STABLE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS CAN BE NEGOTIATED WITH THE PRODUCERS.

-- WE SHOULD CONSULT FURTHER ON THE PROS AND CONS OF AGREEING ON A SPECIFIC FLOOR PRICE OR COMMON TARIFF BEFORE, RATHER THAN AFTER, THE PRODUCER/CONSUMER CONFERENCE.

5. US-FRENCH RELATIONS:

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-- PRESIDENT FORD AND I ARE PLEASED WITH THE CONSTRUCTIVE TONE OF OUR RELATIONS SINCE MARTINIQUE.

-- WE HOPE THAT THIS TREND WILL CONTINUE AND THAT EVEN CLOSER COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS WILL ENSUE.

SETTING:

GISCARD HAS MAINTAINED THE MORE CONCILIATORY APPROACH TOWARDS THE US WHICH SURFACED AT MARTINIQUE. SINCE THE SUMMIT, HIS GOVERNMENT HAS ESCHEWED CRITICISM OF US POLICIES DESPITE PRESSURES FROM SEGMENTS OF THE PRESS, SOME GAULLISTS, AND THE LEFT. FOR EXAMPLE, ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, SAUVAGNARGUES HAS REFUSED COMMENT ON, OR PARRIED CRITICISM OF, YOUR BUSINESS WEEK INTERVIEW. THE GOF ALSO RESPONDED WITH VIGOR AND UNAPOLOGETICALLY TO HOSTILE PUBLICITY ON A US MARINE TRAINING EXERCISE IN SOUTHERN FRANCE. MOREOVER, EMBASSY PARIS DETECTS A WARMER WELCOME AT THE QUAI SINCE GISCARD BEGAN REPLACING SENIOR GAULLIST HOLD-OVERS.

6. GREECE-TURKEY-CYPRUS:

-- THE RECENT MOVE TO ESTABLISH A TURK CYPRIOT STATE PENDING THE AGREED ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERATED CYPRUS IS AN UNHELPFUL STEP. WE HAVE ALL ALONG DISCOURAGED UNILATERAL ACTIONS BY EITHER SIDE THAT WOULD COMPLICATE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. THE LATEST TURKISH MOVE DOES NOT CHANGE THE DE FACTO SITUATION IN ANY MATERIAL SENSE, AND IT DOES NOT APPEAR TO REPRESENT ANY CHANGE IN TURKISH INTENTIONS--I.E. THEIR DEMAND FOR BIZONAL FEDERATION. WE HOPE THEREFORE THAT INTERNATIONAL REACTION CAN BE CONTAINED AND ALL PARTIES ENCOURAGED TO RETURN TO NEGOTIATIONS.

-- INTERNATIONALIZING THE QUESTION CAN ONLY RETARD THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND DELAY PRACTICAL STEPS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. WE WILL THEREFORE ATTEMPT TO LIMIT THE

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ACRIMONIOUS AND NONPRODUCTIVE DEBATE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, TO WHICH CYPRUS AND GREECE HAVE
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TAKEN THE CYPRUS QUESTION, AND WILL WORK FOR A RESOLUTION URGING THE PARTIES TO DISPLAY MODERATION AND FLEXIBILITY AND TO PROCEED WITH DISCUSSIONS ON AN EQUAL FOOTING IN THE CLERIDES-DENKTASH FRAMEWORK.

-- THE CONGRESSIONALLY-IMPOSED CUT-OFF OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY WAS A DISASTROUS STEP. WE ARE WORKING WITH CONGRESS FOR A RESUMPTION OF AID WITHOUT ANY DEADLINES BUT IT WILL TAKE SOME TIME.

-- THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF GREECE REQUIRE GREEK PARTICIPATION IN NATO. WE OPPOSE ACTIVITIES WHICH COULD UNDERMINE THE CLIMATE FOR RENEWED GREEK PARTICIPATION IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE ALLIANCE.

7. CSCE:

-- BECAUSE THE SOVIETS HAVE SLOWED THE PACE AT GENEVA SINCE THE JANUARY RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT WHEN A STAGE III MEETING MAY BE HELD THIS SUMMER; THEREFORE, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO WITHHOLD FINAL AGREEMENT TO A SUMMIT-LEVEL CONCLUSION UNTIL MOSCOW REALIZES IT CANNOT DIVIDE THE ALLIES.

-- WE APPRECIATE AND CONTINUE TO SUPPORT FRANCE'S INITIATIVE IN DEVELOPING A CSCE DISCLAIMER TO PROTECT FOUR-POWER RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE. -

-- WE ALSO VALUE FRENCH EFFORTS IN THE CULTURAL AREA OF BASKET 3 AND WOULD BE INTERESTED IN CURRENT FRENCH THINKING ON PROSPECTS FOR SOVIET AGREEMENT ON OPENING READING ROOMS.

-- OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD FOLLOW-UP IS UNCHANGED, AND WE BELIEVE IT BEST TO KEEP SOVIETS IN THE POSITION OF DEMANDEUR ON THIS ISSUE.

SETTING:

SINCE GISCARD'S EARLY DECEMBER TALKS WITH BREZHNEV, THE
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FRENCH HAVE MOVED PERCEPTIBLY TO ACCELERATE THE CONCLUSION OF CSCE. PERHAPS PARTLY IN REALIZATION OF THIS FRENCH ATTITUDE, AS WELL AS RECENT UK MOVES TO SPEED UP THE PACE AT GENEVA, THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN PURSUING STUBBORN NEGOTIATING TACTICS -- EVIDENTLY HOPING THAT THE

WESTERN EUROPEANS MAY NOW BE IN THE MOOD TO ACCEPT MORE MODEST STAGE II RESULTS. WHILE THE FRENCH ARE THUS EN-

COUNTERING STIFF SOVIET RESISTANCE TO MOST ISSUES OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO PARIS, THE SOVIETS HAVE AGREED TO THE CSCE DISCLAIMER TEXT PROTECTING FOUR-POWER RIGHTS, ON WHICH FRANCE HAS TAKEN THE INITIATIVE. DESPITE FIRM SOVIET OPPOSITION TO DATE TO THE FRENCH BASKET 3 PROPOSAL FOR OPENING READING ROOMS, THE QUAI D'ORSAY REPORTEDLY STILL EXPECTS MOSCOW TO AGREE TO THIS PROPOSAL TOWARD THE END OF STAGE II. ON FOLLOW-UP, THE FRENCH REMAIN AMONG THE MOST RESERVED OF OUR ALLIES IN OPPOSING MOVES TOWARD CREATION OF A POST-CONFERENCE PERMANENT COMMITTEE.

8. US-USSR RELATIONS:

-- SALT AND OTHER SECURITY ISSUES REMAIN KEY ELEMENTS IN US-USSR RELATIONS. THE SOVIETS HAVE SHOWN A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE TALKS WHICH HAVE RESUMED IN GENEVA AND A STRONG COMMITMENT TO CARRY THROUGH ON THE COMPLEX NEGOTIATIONS FOLLOWING THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT.

-- ECONOMIC RELATIONS ARE IMPORTANT TO DETENTE, AND WILL CONTINUE. OUR INABILITY TO IMPLEMENT THE 1972 US-SOVIET TRADE AGREEMENT REPRESENTS A TEMPORARY SETBACK WHICH WE HOPE TO OVERCOME. THE SOVIETS SEEM TO AGREE THAT THIS PROBLEM SHOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH PROGRESS IN OTHER FIELDS.

-- MINIMAL IMPACT ON EAST-WEST DETENTE SHOULD RESULT FROM OUR TRADE AGREEMENT SETBACK. THE SOVIETS HAVE A GOOD DEAL AT STAKE IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE.

-- BREZHNEV IS CLEARLY SUFFERING FROM SOME INDISPOSITION. WE DO NOT KNOW PRECISELY WHAT OR HOW SERIOUS IT IS. THERE IS AS YET NO SIGN THAT HIS AUTHORITY IS IN QUESTION
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OR THAT HIS FOREIGN POLICY IS IN DIFFICULTY, ALTHOUGH SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY IS CURRENTLY UNDERGOING PERIODIC HIGH-LEVEL REVIEW.

9. EC-IRAN RELATIONS:

-- WE OPPOSE BILATERAL PREFERENTIAL TRADING ARRANGEMENTS BECAUSE THEY DISTORT NORMAL COMPETITIVE TRADE PATTERNS, UNDERMINE THE MULTILATERAL SYSTEM AND VIOLATE GATT RULES PROSCRIBING SUCH DISCRIMINATORY TRADE PRACTICES.

-- WE HAVE A COMMITMENT FROM THE COMMUNITY, UNDER THE 1973 CASEY-SOAMES AGREEMENT, THAT THERE WOULD BE NO

GEOGRAPHIC EXPANSION OF ITS PREFERENTIAL AGREEMENTS. WE FIND IT BOTH SURPRISING AND DISAPPOINTING THAT FRANCE AND SOME OTHER COMMUNITY MEMBERS WOULD CONSIDER VIOLATING

THIS AGREEMENT.

-- A PREFERENTIAL TRADE AGREEMENT WOULD ALSO PUT IN JEOPARDY OUR POLICY OF SEEKING ENERGY CRISIS SOLUTIONS BASED ON CONSUMER SOLIDARITY. IT WOULD BECOME DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE A COMMON CONSUMER POSITION ON TRADE/INVESTMENT RELATIONSHIPS FOR A CONFERENCE WITH PRODUCERS AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS. THIS CLEARLY RISKS PUTTING THE EC ON A COLLISION COURSE WITH US.

-- WE APPRECIATE FRANCE'S WISH TO BUILD A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN BUT URGE THAT THIS BE DONE THROUGH THE TYPE OF SPECIAL BILATERAL ASSOCIATIONS WHICH HAVE GROWN OUT OF FORMER EC MEMBER COLONIAL RELATIONSHIPS.

SETTING:

FRANCE ORIGINALLY OPPOSED THE EXTENSION OF AN EC PREFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION WITH IRAN. HOWEVER, DURING PRIME MINISTER CHIRAC'S VISIT TO TEHRAN IN DECEMBER, FRANCE REVERSED ITS POSITION, AT LEAST IN PART, IN RESPONSE TO IRANIAN APPROVAL IN PRINCIPLE OF SOME 6-7 BILLION DOLLARS IN PLANNED INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION PROJECTS. FRANCE SUPPORTS A BROAD PREFERENTIAL ARRANGEMENT AND CON-
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TINUES TO OPPOSE PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD BENEFIT A SINGLE EC MEMBER.

10. EXCHANGE RATES:

IF RAISED BY THE FRENCH:

-- THE DOWNWARD MOVEMENT IN THE DOLLAR SINCE THE EARLY AUTUMN HAS BEEN DUE TO TEMPORARY FACTORS.

-- THE DOLLAR HAS APPARENTLY STABILIZED SINCE LATE JANUARY, AND ALREADY RECOVERED SOMEWHAT, OWING IN PART TO SUCCESSFUL INTERVENTION POLICIES.

-- WE CERTAINLY WOULD NOT WELCOME FURTHER DEPRECIATION OF THE DOLLAR, SINCE IT UNDERMINES OUR ANTI-INFLATION EFFORTS.

-- IN GENERAL, THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF "MANAGED FLOATING" IS SERVING US WELL, WHILE IT MAY BE DESIRABLE TO RETURN TO A PAR VALUE SYSTEM SOME DAY, IT IS DIFFICULT TO FORE-

TELL EXACTLY WHEN THIS WILL BE POSSIBLE.

SETTING:

THE FRENCH HAVE SHOWN INCREASING CONCERN OVER THE RECENT
DEPRECIATION OF THE DOLLAR VIS-A-VIS EUROPEAN CURRENCIES,
INCLUDING THE FRANC. THEY FEAR THE DECLINE IS WEAKENING
THEIR COMPETITIVE POSITION. IN THIS CONTEXT, THEY HAVE
RECENTLY BEEN UNDERLINING (A) THEIR TRADITIONAL POSITION
IN FAVOR OF A MONETARY SYSTEM BASED ON STABLE PAR VALUES,
AND (B) THE TEMPORARY NATURE OF THE PRESENT FLOATING
ARRANGEMENTS. INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 FEB 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE035321
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/WE:MJHABIB/WHMARSH:CBP
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750055-0367
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750287/baaaagrc.tel
Line Count: 443
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAY 2003 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <12 AUG 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: GENEVA INFO BONN
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006